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PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

I.—*Notes of a Journey through Texas and New Mexico, in the Years 1841 and 1842.* By THOMAS FALCONER, Esq., of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn.

IN the following notes it is proposed to give the outline of a journey through Texas and New Mexico. They have no claim to scientific accuracy, for most of my papers, as well as those of my companions, especially some containing an estimate of each day's journey, and the bearings of the course followed, were, together with a collection of shells and minerals which I had made, taken possession of, with the baggage of my party, by the Mexican authorities in New Mexico. All that can be recorded is the general characteristics and condition of the country traversed, as indicating the peculiarities of some districts which may deserve examination when the pending contest between Texas and Mexico shall terminate, and a more pacific disposition among the Indian tribes of the north towards strangers than prevails at present shall permit it to be made.

I left Galveston for Houston March 12, 1841, in a steamer drawing about three and a half feet of water. The wind had been blowing hard, and "had blown the water out of the bay," so that we were unable to cross Red Fish Bar, on the N. of Galveston Bay. We grounded in about three and a quarter feet of water, and remained unable to move for upwards of twenty-four hours. On the morning of the 14th we passed Harrisburgh, situated at the side of Buffalo Bayou. This bayou is a narrow channel running into the bay, very winding in its course, and barely affording room for steamers to cross each other. The banks are several feet high, and were thickly covered with large magnolia trees. In many places we brushed against tall and pliant trees bending over from the banks, and sometimes fairly bore them down under the bows and bottom of our vessel. The channel is not free from obstacles, though it is easily practicable to remove them; and we passed the wrecks of two steamers, which

had been sunk by striking snags, or trees which had fallen into and were hidden by the water.

The city of Houston is at the highest and extreme point of Buffalo Bayou, which can be reached by boats of even the smallest size. It is situated on the edge of a prairie, and, with the exception of part of the main street, is at some elevation above the water of the Bayou. The houses are chiefly frame-built. Its population was estimated by the Board of Health as late as December, 1842, at between 2000 and 2500 persons, and probably barely exceeds the former number. Since 1838 its character has improved, and ferocity and ruffianism are boldly checked. The town was commenced in 1837, and has increased with remarkable rapidity. It is represented to be an unhealthy place, and during the first two years of the settlement certainly was so, though perhaps in a great measure in consequence of temporary causes. In 1839 the yellow fever for the first, and as yet the only time made its appearance. This occasioned the enforcement of many sanitary regulations and an improved system of drainage, which appear to have produced beneficial effects. In 1842 only forty-one persons died there, of whom nine were minors and nine were non-residents, many of the rest were persons of irregular habits. While I remained there many persons were suffering from fever and ague, but there were two causes why illness prevailed:—The wind blew from the E. and N.E., coming over the swamps of Louisiana; and among the trees, about half a mile off, are marshes, the proper drainage of which is neglected because they occasionally dry up.

The growth of the timber on the banks of the bayou does not extend far. The soil of the prairie is productive, but the natural vegetation is coarse. The trees were in leaf, and, I was told, that the season was as far advanced as at Richmond in Virginia in the month of May.

On March 23rd I left Houston, and reached Oyster Creek in the evening. Our road lay over an open prairie, with occasional clumps of trees, which, from their breaking the flatness and uniformity of the land horizon, are called "islands." We passed many large and shallow water-holes, or little lakes, the principal cause of fevers and agues in prairie settlements. These lakes were crowded with flocks of wild-geese and ducks, and there were some cranes. We also passed large herds of deer. The owner of the settlement at which we stopped spoke highly of the fertility of his land. In the first year, by merely scraping up the soil, he had obtained 50 bushels of maize corn per acre. The land cultivated for cotton had been very productive. It is not merely more fertile than the ordinary land of the United States, but the bowls of the cotton-plants burst earlier in the year, and the seasons are more favourable for gathering the crop.

At a distance of a few miles from Oyster Creek we reached the River Brazos. It was at this time low, the water of a reddish colour, running beneath deep and precipitous banks of red clay and sand, and the current strong and rapid. Bales of cotton are taken down this river; but I doubt if, at any time of the year, steamboats can ascend far up it from the sea.

On the W. side of the Brazos, at a short distance, we reached Richmond, apparently a thriving settlement. Crossing an open prairie, we came to the San Bernard, a small stream, which we easily forded. Lower down than where we crossed it are some fertile cane-lands. When these tracts are cleared the cane is burnt down, and the maize-seed sown by raking up the ground. As the young shoots of the cane-plants spring up, they are broken down, and the plants die in about two years. A shrub called a peach tree afterwards springs up, and is destroyed in the same manner. The land is then open for the plough.

Beyond the San Bernard the coarse vegetation of the eastern prairies ceased, and the country had the appearance of an extensive and clean pasture. We stopped in the evening at Peach Creek. There were large swamps in the neighbourhood, abounding, as usual, with flocks of wild-fowl. The district is very unhealthy, and even the negroes suffer much from sickness during the autumn.

From Peach Creek we crossed the country, in the language of the residents, to the timber of the Colorado bottom. One of the earliest settlements of the Anglo-Americans in Texas is in this bottom. It is called Egypt; and the land is of great fertility, but the settlers exhibited the prevalence of sickness in their sallow faces and feeble persons. The soil of the bottom is said to be above twenty feet deep. The cotton-seed was at this time being sown. If it is sown much later, the rains of this season are lost; and if much earlier, the plants are exposed to a "norther," which in 1839 blew as late as the first week of April. This wind always causes much injury to young plants, though it rarely continues more than three days at a time.

The river of the Colorado when we reached it (April 1st) was low. It did not differ in its character nor in the appearance of its banks from the Brazos. The growth of timber, chiefly oak, is principally on the E. side of both rivers: in the course I took, it was upwards of five miles in depth from the prairie to the river Colorado on this side, and not a quarter of a mile in depth on the W. side. I was shown some large bones of an animal which had been found in the bed of the river.

The road from the Colorado to Victoria is over a continuation of the same description of flat ground previously traversed, excepting a sandy district some miles in extent between the river

Garcite and the town. On the road, we forded the rivers Navidad, the La Vaca (generally called the Labaca), and the pretty river Garcite at a crossing near the ranche of De Leon, one of the first *empresarios* for the colonisation of the country. The water of these streams was clear.

The town of Guadalupe Victoria was incorporated by the Mexican government. It lies on the E. side of the river Guadalupe. The navigation of the river from the sea is prevented by a raft or deposit of trees. Linville is at present the port from whence this town, as well as that of San Antonio, derive their foreign supplies. Few Mexicans have resided here since 1836. The population does not exceed 500 persons; and the place is in bad repute from being the head-quarters of a party of robbers who had broken up a very important trade between this town and the Rio Grande.

At the distance of about six miles from Victoria we crossed the Rio Coleta, the banks of which for a considerable distance are of light white sand. We turned to the S.W. to Carlos's Ranche, or New La Bahia, a settlement on the San Antonio river, made by the Mexicans, who were driven from Goliad during the war. This settlement has been destroyed since I visited it by some men from Victoria who had no public authority for this cruel and most impolitic act. We met here with some of the few Indians who remain of the Tonkahua tribe.

Keeping a short distance from the river, we arrived, after a ride of a few hours, at Goliad, or La Bahia del Espiritu Santo. It was established as a military garrison in 1716, but was utterly destroyed in 1836. The fort is a square inclosure on the brow of a hill on the W. bank, and overlooking the river, the walls being pierced for musketry. On the W. side of it is a ravine, on the S. an open prairie, and towards the N. the ground slopes to the river. The church within the fort is a solid structure of stone, and bears the date 1801. The foreign supplies of the town were obtained from the port of Copano, and it was an important military position to the Mexicans upon this account. The population of the place before the war exceeded 1200 persons. An Irish family now occupied the ruined fort, and one Mexican family was living in a hut outside of the walls. On the E. side of the river are the ruins of an old mission.*

* General Filisola, in a pamphlet published in Mexico, gives the following itinerary:—

		Leagues.			Leagues.
From Matamoras to	Fresnito	. 7	From Salado to	Santa Gertrudis	5
"	Colorado	. 7	"	Las Pintas	. 6
"	Carrisitos	. 6	"	San Patricio	. 6
"	Chiltipin	. 6	"	El Papilote	. 6
"	Jaboncillos	. 7	"	Las Rositas	. 6
"	Santa Rosa	. 7	"	Goliad	. 3=77
"	Salado	. 5			

The road from Goliad to San Antonio de Bexar runs near the river, and it is somewhat dangerous to travel over upon account of Indians. The first night we stopped at Miniffee creek. The next day we crossed the Clito and remained at night near the Rio Cibolo. About 8 miles from the Cibolo and a few miles S. of the sulphur-springs, the surveyors find their compasses disturbed, the vibrations becoming sluggish. We again came to the river at the 18-mile ranche—here a rapid and narrow current running between limestone cliffs. The ground perceptibly rises from Goliad to Bexar, and from the road, before descending a low hill, you look over the town of Bexar—the four missions of La Espada, San Juan, San José, and Conception lying in the valley of the river to the left.

In this journey from Houston to San Antonio there was little variety in the appearance of the country. That there is an immense extent of land that will hereafter be profitably cultivated is beyond doubt: I think, however, that S. of a line running W. from Houston and bounded by a line running N. of Victoria, experience has proved the country to be unhealthy to Europeans, and on the settlements near the coast to be very fatal. Painful relations were also made to me of the frequent deaths of immigrants on the southern district of Trinity river—a part of the country which I have not visited. The western and northern districts I believe to be very healthy.

The town of San Antonio was founded in the year 1698, and is placed by Mexican authorities in long. $98^{\circ} 30'$ W. of Greenwich, and lat. $29^{\circ} 25'$ N. It is laid out with some regularity, the streets running at right angles to one another. It occupies chiefly a tongue of land swept by the river, and part of it is on the E. bank. There are two squares, called the civil and military, and between them is a stone-built church of the date A.D. 1717. The town was exceedingly well governed by an incorporated municipal body. The inhabitants were orderly; and I never knew any person to wear arms habitually, though, being on the frontier and subject to Indian incursions, it was always necessary to carry arms on leaving the town. Whilst I was in the neighbourhood some Comanche Indians galloped into one of the streets and killed a Mexican at the door of his own house. On the E. side of the river is the old mission and presidio, called the Alamo. It was similar in form and arrangement to the other missions in the neighbourhood: it was a square inclosure, presenting on the exterior a blank wall. This wall formed the back of houses opening into the square. The church and other buildings were ruined during an attack made by the President Santa Anna in 1836, when it was defended by some Texan troops.

The mission of Concepcion is a very large stone building, situated on the river about 2 miles below the town. The mission of San José is about 2 miles further down, and is remarkable for the very elaborate carvings of figures and flowers on the W. front of the church. The mission of San Juan is very inferior to the others, and that of La Espada is in ruins. Excepting in that of Concepcion, the houses within these missions are inhabited. These institutions were dependant on the Franciscan convent of Guadalupe, near Zacatecas.

The climate of Bexar is very healthy, and many of the old residents had attained a great age. There are no mosquitoes, the common plague of hot countries. Scorpions sometimes get into the houses. On one occasion a man sitting near me was bitten by one, but some hartshorn after a short delay was rubbed in, and no inconvenience followed from the wound.

There are no settlements on the Presidio road between San Antonio and the Rio Grande. I rode along it as far as the Laguna Espantosa in May, 1841. The river marked in the maps as the Leon was at this time nearly dry. A short distance beyond it is the valley of the Medina. The land on the banks of this river is covered with fine oak, cotton, pecan, and white-sycamore trees. We saw here some very large alligators. Before reaching the Rio Honda, which we found dry, we passed through an extensive wood of post or white oak. A few miles E. of the Rio Frio is a low ridge of hills, part of the side of which, to the right of the road, was broken away and exposed a bed of sand. This place is called the Loma Blanca. The Rio Frio is a fine stream, the banks of which are high and shelving, and were covered with trees. From hence is a dry sandy country until within a short distance of the Rio Leona. This river was not above 9 yards wide and between 4 and 5 feet deep. A little beyond, a sandy district again commences. From a hill called the Loma de Buena Vista (part of a continuous ridge running from the north), an extensive and arid plain is overlooked, reaching to the Nueces and forming a great part of what is often called "the desert between the Rio Grande and the Medina." It is not, however, barren, and is sprinkled with misquite trees. Having notice of a party of above 200 Mexican soldiers, chiefly militia, being in the neighbourhood, we left the road and went to the N.W. At the point at which we reached the Nueces the river ran between deep alluvial banks, and was not above a yard wide and a few inches deep. At a short distance from it were many masses of mica. We spent the greater part of a day on the banks of the Laguna Espantosa, a wide sheet of water, and then returned to Bexar by the direct route. The only part of the country on this

road, where it is possible to anticipate any extensive settlements, is in the fine valley of the Medina.*

There was a considerable Mexican trade on the Presidio road, which was protected by the people of Bexar—by the Mexican government it was prohibited. I several times saw upwards of fifty pack-mules leave Bexar for the Rio Grande laden with manufactured goods.

In June I left Bexar for the city of Austin, at that time the seat of government, taking the old Nacogdoches road to the San Marcos. About 5 miles above Bexar we reached the springs, or the head waters of the San Antonio river. Their level is considerably raised by an embankment in order to enable the gardens in Bexar and the lands about the city to be irrigated. We crossed the country to the Salado, a small stream, and stopped the first night at some water-holes in the bed of the Cibolo, a river which is said to sink in its course, and which a few days before and only a few miles to the S., I had seen running as a clear stream. The next day we crossed the Guadalupe, a broad, clear, and swift river, running over a hard white limestone bed, a great portion of which it did not at this time occupy. On its banks were some remarkably large pecan trees. From hence to the River San Marcos is an usually picturesque prairie, bounded on the W. by a low ridge of hills. The first branch of the San Marcos river, which we crossed, rises in a wood of oaks from the bottom of a lofty limestone hill, and soon becomes an important stream, so rapid and clear, that though it appeared perfectly shallow we could barely ford it. About a mile further on is the Rio Blanco, which runs over a white sandy bed and joins the San Marcos. Passing Plumb creek we stopped the third night at Manjack's spring, a fountain bubbling from a white-limestone rock. The next day we crossed Onion creek and turned off to Barton's springs, where the water flowing from below fills a natural basin 14 feet deep at the edge. There was a settlement here, and there were others between it and Austin. We descended a hill to the Colorado: at the bottom was a field of maize-corn, the plants being of luxuriant growth and some feet above us as we rode by them. We forded the river, and at a short distance arrived at the city of Austin.

* Colonel Almonte gives the following itinerary from Bexar to the Rio Grande:—

	Leagues.		Leagues.
Bexar to the Leon	3	Nolodigas to the Arroyo de la Leona .	3
„ Potranca	3	„ Loma de Buena Vista .	4½
„ Rio Medina	1½	„ Las Tortugas	1½
„ Arroyo de Chacon . . .	3	„ Nueces	2
„ Francisco Perez . . .	2½	„ Espantosa	1
„ Arroyo de Tahuacocono .	3	„ Arroyo de Peña . . .	3½
„ Rio Frio	5	„ La Rosita	3
„ Arroyo de Nolodigas .	4	„ Rio Bravo	6½ = 50.

This route was not free from danger : when returning by it to Bexar two men were shot by some Towaccanie Indians a short distance from us, one of whom was killed. On coming by it a second time to Austin, we surprised and drove off two Indians following one of our small party, who had separated himself from us in chasing some game.

The city of Austin lies on the left bank of the Colorado, on ground inclining to the river and at the base of some low hills. It is well laid out, and contains some excellent frame-built houses. On a hill to the W. of the main street, which runs direct to the river, is the Hall of the Legislature, inclosed by a stockade, and on a hill, on the opposite side, is the President's house. The public offices are a series of detached log-cabins on both sides of the main street. The city is on the extreme north-western frontier, and, though hardly established two years, presented a very flourishing appearance. It had greatly contributed to the protection of the eastern country, and had caused a large tract of land to be settled. I do not believe the statement that the Colorado is navigable from the sea to this point. The stone found here is not suited for building: it is a fine-grained white limestone of a very brittle nature.

At Austin I found an expedition on the point of starting for Santa Fé. I was not informed that "its object was to assert a jurisdiction" over a part of New Mexico, nor was this information communicated to the merchants who joined it, many of whom "ventured their all" in the expectation of being able to trade at Santa Fé.* It was represented to be a purely mercantile enterprise, of which assurances of a friendly reception had been received, and this was the general opinion entertained of it. This representation was not improbable, for Mexican commissioners were in the country communicating with the government, and Mexican traders had long been received and protected at San Antonio. I was asked by the President, General Lamar, to join the party "as an invited guest, without being subject to military orders," and I accepted the proposal.

The expedition consisted of 304 men divided into six mounted companies, and with the exception of two companies of about ninety men, the arms of all were private property.† There were

* Letter of the Secretary of State for Texas, April 23, 1842. Congressional Papers of the United States, 27th Congress, No. 271.

† "The circumstances of the country may repel the presumption of hostility, as well as the circumstances of the times or the manners of a particular age. The Texan expedition to Santa Fé, in traversing the vast plains between the place from which it set out and that point, was to pass through a region which no one thinks of entering or crossing without arms, for whatever purpose or with whatever intent he may undertake such an enterprise. If he be a hunter, he is armed; if a trader, he is armed; and usually traders go in considerable bodies that they may be the better able to defend

fourteen waggons laden with the goods of merchants, six waggons of the military companies, and two carrying the baggage of the staff and of the civilians. These were drawn by six or seven pair of oxen. There was one field-piece drawn by mules. The supplies for the maintenance of the party consisted of coffee, sugar, salt, dried beef, and a herd of about seventy cattle. The omission of some barrels of flour was an injudicious economy.

I left Austin upon the 17th of June, and joined the expedition which was then encamped at Brushy, about 12 miles off. About half way there was a grove of oak-trees, and a short distance beyond was an extensive plain divided by a long dark line of trees. The camp was among the trees. Close to it was a spring of water coming from a limestone rock, and on the edge of the basin below was a broken specimen of a very large ammonite.

It had been proposed that the route to be taken should be from the San Saba, or on the course of the Colorado to the Puerco, and along the line of this river to San Miguel. It was, however, determined to proceed, if practicable, to the Red River, and, after crossing it, to get upon the Missouri trail to Santa Fé. When we reached New Mexico, we were told that the former would have been the best route.

We left Brushy upon the 19th. The observation frequently made that a flood must have passed over the prairie we were crossing, conveys, though very imperfectly, what many imagined would be the condition of land after a vast sheet of water has run off it. In the evening we reached the San Gabrielle, the bed of which was a compact white limestone.

On the 24th we reached Opossum Creek, the bed of a wide and at this time shallow stream. It was in the course of this or the next day's journey that we found dispersed over the prairie for several miles small pieces of iron ore, generally angular in their fracture, though many were somewhat round; the largest not above an ounce in weight. A handful could be collected in a circle of about 5 feet. Some of the men stated that they had observed the same thing in the district about the head of the San Saba river. In the evening we camped at Deep Creek. The banks are about 12 feet high, of loose scaly clay, and throughout their whole depth was a bed of shells, chiefly of oysters and of a

themselves against the roaming savage tribes so constantly met with on those extensive plains. It is not uncommon, indeed, that for their better defence, companies of traders retain the services of men at arms, who maintain military order and array along the line of their march. When such bodies are met with in countries usually traversed by them, no inference arises, from the circumstance of their being armed, of any intention on their part of using such arms for any purpose but that of defence. If tourists, or persons wearing any other similar but equally pacific character, set forth on such a journey, they are still armed—armed for subsistence as well as defence."—*Letter of the Hon. Daniel Webster, April 5, 1842, Congressional Papers, 27th Congress.*

species of large shell, the probable name of which is not suggested by any shell that I have seen.

The next day we passed some dry gullies in which was a large quantity of the same kind of shells as in Deep Creek. We met this day with vast herds of buffaloes. They covered the prairie like a black cloud, and their number could hardly be exaggerated. In the afternoon we reached the San Andreas or Little River. On the bank I found a fine specimen of a large nautilus. We remained on this river some days in order to repair the waggons. On starting again, a journey of four days brought us to the Bosque River. The country was open, and we had no difficulty in finding water. Wherever the rock was visible, it was a compact limestone.

Beyond the Bosque River was a somewhat broken country. A few miles from it we reached a valley into which we descended by a natural terrace which passed along the side of the hill, and enabled the waggons to be brought so easily to the bottom, that the drivers exclaimed "that it must have been made by men." The sides of this valley were swept by two streams which united at the east side. The beds of both these streams were a conglomerate of shells of the *gryphæa* species and of lime, and on the banks layers of these shells were exposed. We continued to find these shells during 2 days' march from this place.

On the 11th of July we were in sight of Comanche peak. It is a long, flat-topped or table mountain, apparently rising from a plain. Its size and breadth from the time we saw it on the W. and S. sides, and again on the E. did not perceptibly vary. Soon after being in sight of it, we came near several conical-shaped hills and others similar in shape to the peak. They were not very high, and soon ceased to be seen.

We reached the Brazos upon the 11th of July, halting at a fresh-water spring about a quarter of a mile from it. The bed of the river was of considerable breadth, though the stream was only a few yards wide and a few inches deep. The water was clear, but very brackish. In some holes many large cat-fish were caught. We crossed the river upon the 13th. A few yards above its level a large portion of a fossil tree was found. The statement on some of the maps of Texas, of a petrified forest, is most probably an idle story, arising from some party having met with a fossil specimen of this kind. There was an ascent from the river for about two miles, and from high ground was a fine prospect—the Comanche Peak rising on the horizon to the W., the country on this side of it appearing a flat wooded plain, and a little to the N. the Brazos river made a great bend. From this point our course was as far as practicable to the N.W.

We passed several streams, and on the third day after leaving

the river came to a large spring of water rising out of a conglomerate of lime and shells of the gryphæa species. The water fell over a ledge of this conglomerate about 5 feet high. In some gullies near I picked up many specimens of small echini.

On the 19th we crossed the ridge dividing Noland's river and the Trinity. On the 21st we entered part of the line of oaks running from the N., called the upper cross-timbers, and brought the waggons through it with great difficulty on the 31st. Some lunar observations, which I cannot say are to be relied on, made our position on the 27th in long. $97^{\circ} 44'$ W. of Greenwich, and lat. $33^{\circ} 35'$. We had found honey in many trees for some days; but, according to the statement of old hunters, bees are not met with W. of the cross-timbers. On getting clear of the forest, we found the trail of a trading expedition, made two years previously under the guidance of Mr. Connelly, direct from the Red River across the Puerco to Chihnahua. He had discovered the error of carrying goods to Santa Fé; and, after overcoming immense difficulties, finally arrived at the central market of the N. of Mexico.

On the 4th of August we came to a large red river. Some Wakoe Indians met us, and seemed disposed to enter into communication with an advance party, but they fled in great haste when they discovered our number. On the northern side of the river, upon a flat piece of ground, was the Indian village, very prettily laid out, and the huts covered with the leaves of the maize corn. Strict orders were given that no person should pass over to it, and sentries were set to see them executed. Some men, however, got into a patch of water-melons, then unripe, and brought some of them into camp. The next morning we crossed the river, which we supposed to be the Wishetaw: it was of a deep red colour from the quantity of mud suspended in it. It was evidently subjected to very high floods, though it was this time not above $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep at the crossing. We were compelled to pass through the village; but the Indians had abandoned it, and all the corn in a large plantation had been gathered. No injury was done to the huts; and the taking of the melons was the only wrong committed.

From this point we were compelled to keep off to the W.; and on the 5th we halted at the side of a lake of red-coloured water, the sand about it being of a deep red colour. Keeping still W. we again struck the river on the 5th. On this day Mr. Van Ness, who rode with a party to the N., reported having reached a river of considerable size running E.

On the 7th we stopped at a small fresh-water stream; and on the 8th we reached the Wishetaw again, or a branch of it, and crossed it to the S. side. On the 8th and 9th we had great diffi-

culty in getting through gullies and ravines, but were able to camp where our cattle had sufficient pasture.

It was now supposed that we were close to the Red River, and nearer to Santa Fé than some calculations made it. Three men were therefore sent off, on the 11th of August, to reach a spot well known to the Santa Fé traders, called the Angosturas, or Narrows. From thence they could easily reach San Miguel, and were ordered to send guides to us.

By keeping far out to the S., to head the ravines, we found a flat prairie and an easy road. Our course was kept to the S. and S.W. during the 12th and 13th: on the latter day we came to the edge of a valley on the N., about two miles wide, furrowed with ravines of immense depth, at the bottom of which we found many small springs of water. An examination of the valley was prevented by the long grass, in which we injudiciously halted, having caught fire by an accident. The flames spread with wonderful rapidity, and in a few moments two of our waggons were on fire, one of the tents was burnt up, and the other waggons were barely saved. The fire spread to the cedars and the brushwood of the ravines, and in a short time the whole valley seemed to be covered with flame. The next morning everything looked withered, black and charred, and the fire was still spreading along the valley to the N.E. The wind fortunately blew in the direction contrary to our course.

On the 14th, keeping along the edge of the valley to the W., we came to a point where, what had appeared to be a portion of the opposite side, was found to be merely a continuation of that on which we were in a different direction. At the angle, the elevated ground separating what I believe to have been part of the valley of the Red River from that of another drainage-basin, narrowed so much as barely to leave a passage sufficient for the waggons to be taken across. The stream, therefore, running through the valley did not come from the W. At this crossing we could see to our left broken ground and ravines similar to those on our right; and in this district to our left we believed the head waters of the Brazos to have their rise.

Having brought over the waggons, we bent to the W. and N.W., and came again to the edge of the valley to our right, I descended into it and rode across part of it. There were many dry beds of broad torrents, and I at last reached a small stream, the water of which was very salt, and we could obtain no other to drink. On both sides of the banks of this stream were continuous strata of fibrous gypsum.

On the 15th we passed a red sandstone district, and were again compelled to go to the S. and S.W. We were then obliged to stop for three days close to a large spring of water, very clear and

bright as it flowed from the ground, but, soon after exposure, nauseous and bitter. I was one of a very few whom it did not affect, almost all our party suffering from sickness and diarrhœa in consequence of drinking it.

On the 21st we were heartily glad to move. We ascended a very steep side of a hill near us, and came to perhaps the first true range of table-land. The ground was flat, and sprinkled with misquite trees, and there was excellent pasture for the cattle. For four days we continued to traverse it to the N.W. Throughout the whole distance was an almost endless "dog village," or mounds at the mouths of the burrows of the prairie-dog, a species of marmot. The water-holes filled by some late rains, and some fresh-water streams running E., greatly aided our progress. On the fourth day we reached a district of fine white sand covered with dwarf oaks from 1 to 3 feet high, bounded on the N. by a bright stream of fresh water. On the 24th it was estimated that our latitude was $34^{\circ} 20'$ and longitude $101^{\circ} 25' W.$ of Greenwich, but I do not think the observations were correct.

On the 25th of August, after proceeding a short distance, we came to a salt stream, and were unable to bring the waggons across the ravines until near sunset. On the 26th, after getting over a few miles of rugged ground, we again ascended on another range of table-land. On reaching it, the scene changed. From dark and gloomy gullies, sandy ravines, and stunted cedars, through which we had been struggling, there was suddenly before us a fine green pasture, a flat prairie, with misquite-trees, and a most cheerful prospect. On the second day we passed a very wide white sandy bed of a stream then dry; and on the fourth day reached a river running E., which the Mexicans subsequently told us was the Quintufue, a branch of the Palo Duro, and a tributary of the Red River, having made about 70 miles N.W. on this level. Here we disturbed the camp of a very large body of Caygua Indians. We did not see them until they had removed, and fruitlessly endeavoured to enter into communication with them.

On the 29th, at the distance of about six miles from the river, we came to a precipitous edge of the table-land. On our left was a lofty escarpment of a level line of high ground. On the 30th we were compelled to return to the river. This day some Indians cut off and killed five of our party; among them a young Englishman, the only son of Major-General Trevor Hull. Some Mexicans, who afterwards fell in with the Indians, told us that our men in defending themselves had killed a chief and several Indians; but they had carried off their dead before we could reach the bodies of our companions.

Our provisions were at this time nearly exhausted. We had no salt, sugar, or coffee; and were reduced to a pound and a half per

man, bones included, of lean beef. In this emergency it was determined that ninety men should be sent forward to San Miguel for provisions and guides, and they left us on the evening of the 31st. The Indians having stolen my horse a few days before, I was obliged to remain with the party on the Quintufue.

The party that left us took a route different from that subsequently taken by us; and I am indebted to Mr. Kendall, who accompanied it, for the following account of their journey:—

The high ground to the left turned out to be “the grand prairie,” the most extensive table-land of the N. of Mexico. They traversed it in a N.W. course, and estimated the distance to be nearly 200 miles. Before they descended from it they saw a chain of mountains running nearly N. and S., and believed they looked on its southerly termination. In the country towards the N. there appeared to be a river of considerable size. On descending from the table-land they reached some very rugged ground, and were compelled to go W. and S.W. After crossing several hills they reached a small stream of water: they then reached a river, which they believed to be Red River; but it is very doubtful if either party saw the main stream of this river: it probably bends suddenly to the N. in a very different direction from that indicated in any of the maps. Some 10 miles to the S. were some remarkably-shaped mountains known by the name of the “Crows.” After wandering among the mountains, they unexpectedly discovered the Angosturas, which the Mexicans had described to be in the neighbourhood of the “Crows.” The road was along the rough ledges of a rock running for nearly 8 miles between mountains, varying from a quarter to three-quarters of a mile in distance from each other. The direction of these mountains is nearly E. and W. The river was to the right. About sun-down of September 12th, they reached a point where the river suddenly turned off to the N. To the W. was a valley 3 or 4 miles in width, apparently very fertile. For some time the party had been reduced to very great distress for want of food, and had killed one of their horses for subsistence. Here they fortunately fell in with some Mexicans who had been trading with the Indians; three of them agreed to accompany one of the party back to the river Quintufue, in order to act as guides, and started without unnecessary delay. The Mexicans met with were on their way to the river Moros, and called the distance to San Miguel between 70 and 80 miles. They kept in company one day on a W. course, and left for their homes to the N.W. The party, continuing their route W., came to the Galenas, where they were all able to purchase sheep. On their road from this place to San Miguel five of the men who were in advance of the rest were met by a body of Mexican soldiers: they were taken pri-

soners to San Miguel, where, soon after their arrival, two of the men who had left us on the 11th of August were, without being allowed any communication with them, brought before them into the square and shot. The third man, who left us the same day, was killed when his companions were taken. One of this advance party—an American, who had lived some years at Chihuahua—offered his services to General Armijo, the Governor of New Mexico, and joined the Mexican troops, who were preparing to attack those of his own party. He found the Texans at Anthon Chico, and advancing with the Mexicans, described the reception of his companions to have been very friendly, and went through the form of a masonic oath with some freemasons of the company to secure confidence in his statement. The leaders were wonderfully credulous, and, placing the men in the power of the Mexicans, they all became prisoners. Had they maintained their position and communicated to us the hostile spirit they had discovered in the country, which might have been practicable, we should have endeavoured to have made our way back to Texas.

After the party whose capture was thus effected had left us on the Quintufue, we moved higher up the river, occasionally changing our position to secure pasture for the cattle near the camp. The Indians kept about us and caused frequent alarms. On the 4th of September, between 8 and 9 o'clock in the morning, they effected an "*estampido*." They killed and scalped one of our men and in a few minutes drove off our cattle and eighty-three of our horses. The cattle we fortunately recovered back, but the loss of the horses was a great misfortune. On another occasion, in the middle of the day, they speared one of the sentries. Between the time indeed that we first reached this river and the day we left it, we lost thirteen men, only one of whom died from disease, the rest being killed by Indians.

On the 17th of September the Mexican guides sent to us from the Angosturas arrived. The next day our encampment was broken up, many things were destroyed, and having been compelled to live upon the draught oxen, five waggons were abandoned. The men, at this time, were in a feeble and languid state; scratches on their hands ulcerated, and it seemed as if the scurvy was about to appear among us.

Our first day's march was to the base of the escarpment of the grand prairie, at the side of the Arroyo Atuley. On the morning of the 19th we brought the waggons by an easy ascent upon this remarkably extensive table-land. The few openings which afford places for ascent or descent, are called by the Mexicans "*puertas*." Upon the edge of this land, the whole extent of the table-land beneath, upon which we had remained so many days, appeared as a map before us, with the white lines of the sandy bed of the

river and of its branches clearly marked, and misquite trees dotted upon the plain.

The appearance of the grand prairie is that of a flat plain. The pasturage for the cattle was excellent, and the grass as green as if the season was that of spring. But it is remarkable that, excepting in the bed of a river and in some gullies, there was not a tree or a shrub on the prairie. On the 21st we crossed a broad gully. On the 23rd we reached the Rio Escaravedra (*escarbadura*, scraping). The Mexicans stated that, when the stream did not run, water was obtained in the channel by scraping or digging up the ground. It lay in a broad chasm about 100 feet below the level of the prairie; but at this time there were only water-holes in it. The guides appeared to know the country accurately: they followed no trail, there was no tree or mark before them, and yet from morning to night they did not vary from the course they proposed to take. If at the end of the day a mere water-hole was to be the camping-place, they carried us directly to it. To-day they brought us to what was no doubt a very important point. On a sudden we came upon a well-worn road, bearing down to the river, formed by the tracks or trails of buffaloes and Indian and Mexican hunting-parties: we descended it, and crossed to the left bank, continuing during the day along the side of the river. Coming upon the relics of a broken Mexican waggon, there was an extravagant expression of joy: it was not then known how far from the settlements even the Mexicans will drive their waggons. Before getting out of the chasm and reaching the prairie, the Indians cut off two of our men. Our course was kept westerly and near to the line of the river, sometimes camping on it at night, and other times halting at lagunes on the prairies, where were frequently flocks of wild ducks. Some few antelopes were killed. It was not the buffalo season, and we saw none, but there were signs of immense herds having traversed the country. On the 27th there was no water at the almost north-westerly point of the bed of the river: this the guides had warned us to expect. On the 28th we failed in reaching a *puerta*, or place of descent, until after it was dark. It was necessary to press forward for water, and we brought down the waggons with great difficulty and camped at a water-hole. During the nine days that we were on the table-land we travelled at the very least 170 miles.

On the 29th we kept along the northern escarpment of the grand prairie to the Arroyo de Abajo. On the 30th, near the north-westerly point of this prairie, we stopped at the Monte Revuelto (mixed wood). The guides stated that in the spring they had driven sheep from San Miguel to this point for the purpose of grazing. The district abounded in a low cactus, which they called the organon, very different from the tall plant of that name which

grows in the valley of Mexico. On the 1st of October we halted at the Arroyo de Monte Revuelto. We had, when on the grand prairie, sent forward a party to San Miguel to ascertain why the provisions promised, when the guides were sent to us, had not arrived. At this place we sent off another party on the same errand. On the 3rd we passed the *Boca*, which I suspect is a southern pass of the same line of mountains which are crossed to the N. at the Angosturas. We here saw the fresh sign of horse-men and mocassin tracks: the guides were alarmed and could not explain it. In the evening we stopped at the Arroyo de Tuncarrie. To the W. was a long flat-topped mountain, and a conical-shaped mountain at each side of it: there was also a range of mountains to our right.

On the 4th we reached the high grounds which divide the streams running to the Red River and those running to the Puerco. The first of the streams running to the Puerco that we came to was at the Laguna Colorada: it was situated in a sandy plain lying between an escarpment of hills. Among the sand was a large quantity of cedar-wood brought down by floods from the N. The guides said it would be 5 days' journey from this place to San Miguel: to Parajito, one day; El Cuervo, the second; Los Esterros and Rio Galena, the third; Ticoloti, the fourth; Los Huevos de Vernal and San Miguel, the fifth.

At this place, however, we were stopped by a large body of Mexican troops: they were encamped behind some rising ground, on the road, having a high ridge of rocks nearly perpendicular on their left and the lake on their right. Our men were at this time in a very distressed state; we had only fifty rounds of cartridges to a man made up, and powder for about as many more; our most efficient men and best horses were with the first division, of whose fate we knew nothing; many men were sick and infirm, and nearly all our horses had been carried off by the Indians. Retreat was impossible, for we had not the means to protect our cattle from being cut off by cavalry; and the possible success of one day would not have enabled us to advance, nor to have carried away our wounded if we retreated. A surrender was agreed upon, and the terms, securing to the party the treatment of prisoners of war, were signed by the officers on both sides. On October the 5th the Mexicans took possession of our arms, baggage, and the merchandize. On going over to their camp there was a very large body of troops drawn up, and soon afterwards a reinforcement of 150 men, very well armed and mounted—many having the muskets and pistols of our advance division—arrived.

On the 6th our road was bounded on both sides by a ridge of mountains, and after crossing a hill covered with cedars, we came to a spot called Parajito at the bank of a stream. From hence

there was an open road to El Cuervo, a bend of a stream, near which is a red-coloured conical-shaped mountain. I rode much in advance of the main body of troops and prisoners, and it was dark before I got to Los Esterros. We started in the morning of the 8th before sunrise, and at an early hour reached a hill above the river Galenas. At this place General Armijo, the governor of New Mexico, was encamped. A large body of troops were under arms, with some artillery. The road for the greater part of the remainder of the day was over a plain, and in the evening we came to a settlement on the Puerco called Anthon Chico. In the neighbourhood there were large flocks of sheep. The heads of the maize here, as well as in other places in New Mexico, were remarkably large.

On the 9th we crossed and re-crossed the Puerco, passing through a very hilly country, and to the N. was a range of lofty mountains. We again reached the Puerco, in a *cañada*, or valley, called Cuesta: there was a pretty settlement here, and the fields were enclosed and subject to irrigation. From hence, winding through a mountainous country, cultivated wherever it was practicable, we followed the course of the river, and in the evening arrived at the large town of San Miguel. This town and the neighbourhood contain probably 2000 persons: there is a square in the centre of the town, and a church on the N. side.

We remained at San Miguel until the 17th: the main body of our party having arrived on the 12th. They had been harshly treated after we had left them: they had been stripped of their coats and waistcoats; their second blankets had been taken away: for nearly two days they were tied, and many thought that they were to be shot. Shortly after their arrival much of the merchandize seized was distributed in the square among the soldiers and Indians.

We were here joined by Mr. Kendall and those who were taken in advance of the first division, and by two parties which we had sent forward after we reached the grand prairie, and which had been captured soon after they had left us. The main body of the first division had already marched for the city of Mexico.

Our first day's journey from San Miguel was through the mountains: the country was well wooded, but there was no settlement on the road. At sunset we stopped at an old Indian settlement called Pagos, situated on the brow of a hill above the river: it is a walled enclosure, in which a few persons lived; but the houses within were made more ruinous than on our arrival, by the Mexican soldiers, who made fires of the materials.

On the morning of the 18th the high and bold mountains above Santa Fé lay to the N., and the peaks were covered with snow. We went W. over a tolerably open country to a fine ranche, or farm, called Galisteo, belonging to one Pinos, whose name on

some maps is, I suspect, intended to mark this place. The stream here runs to the Rio Grande, and we camped the next day in a field on the bank of it.

On the 21st, after passing two pretty towns—San Domingo and San Phelippe—we halted on the Rio Grande at the poor village of Algodonez, situated on a plain extending some distance to the river. On the 21st we passed Zandia (water-melon), an Indian village. The Indians brought out a large number of melons and distributed them among the men. They were of short stature, as all the Indians we met with in Mexico were, and their dwellings were laid out irregularly, with the same neglect of comfort and cleanliness which is to be observed in the settlements of the red race among civilized nations. The Rio Grande, even at this distance N., is very broad, running over a bed of red sand, but very shallow. We stopped in the evening at a pretty village named Almeida.

During the 22nd we passed a succession of houses. The people here, as indeed at all the settlements on the Rio Grande, exhibited much good feeling, and brought out presents of corn, meat, tortillas, cakes, and eggs. Albuquerque, the largest and most populous place that we saw upon this river, contains a large farming establishment, the buildings of which were in good order. We merely passed through the town, and stopped at Los Placeres, a small village a few miles farther on. We were here told that over the mountains to our left were several villages on the Puerco, the largest called San Antonio.

On the 23rd we travelled over a well-wooded country, and passed many settlements, stopping at Valencia, in the neighbourhood of which is an extensive irrigated pasture. One of our men died the next morning from exhaustion and fatigue; and we had not proceeded far when some of the guard were sent to the rear and shot one of the men who was lame and could with difficulty walk. We had two of our own waggons with us, in one of which he might have been permitted to rest himself, and there was nothing to justify the act. The ears of these men were cut off to be kept by our captain, as evidence that the men had not escaped. On the road from Valencia is a very sandy district, some high mountains lying on the left. On the right bank of the river were two large Indian villages: a low range of mountains were to be seen on that side. The left bank of the river here became very elevated, and we stopped on the 24th upon a plain much above the level of the river at the Casa Colorada. This building was a collection of about twenty houses, connected with a large farming establishment. From hence to Joia is a very sandy district. On this part of the road we passed a long train of waggons drawn by mules belonging to a Mr. M'Guffin: they were on their way to

Chihuahua, and had been brought from St. Louis on the Mississippi. Joia is one of the largest villages on the river, and the population is numerous.

A short distance from Joia, the Rio Grande is greatly contracted in its usual breadth in its passage between some low hills; it was indeed so narrow as to create for a time a doubt whether it was the river we had left when we turned off from it near the Casa Colorada. We did not continue long on the bank, our course being to the left of some mountains lying between the river and the road, through a red sandy country abounding in dry water-holes, in which were considerable quantities of crystallized salt. We halted in the evening (the 26th) at Pareida, again striking the river. This is the last settlement on the left bank between Santa Fé and Paso del Norte. At Pareida is the commencement of a great bend of the river to the E.: and in order to shorten our road we crossed the water, about 2 feet deep, the greater number of our party wading through it. On the opposite side was a wood of cotton-trees of large growth, and on the S.W. of a level plain, apparently of very good land, we came, at the distance of about 6 miles from the river, to the village of Socorro, the central point of the range of the Apache Indians, several of whom rode into the village armed with American rifles. The houses are built with flat roofs after the Mexican fashion; and in the windows, instead of glass, were thin and broad pieces of mica. The population speak Spanish, though of mixed and chiefly of Indian blood, in common with all the Mexican population of the north.

On the 28th the road was along a flat country, at the bottom of a ridge of mountains lying to our right. We passed a grove of oak-trees to our left, called the Bosque de los Apaches, and camped at the Valle Verde, a continuation of the same wood. On the 29th we crossed the river, which here bends far to the W., striking it again at a camping-place called Fray Cristoval. At this point the river again bends to the W. During this day a violent N. wind blew, and at night there was a fall of about 2 inches of snow. As we none of us had more than one blanket in addition to our light clothing, and many no blanket at all, we suffered much from the cold. At this point is the commencement of what is called the *grand jornada* (great journey), across the country to where the river is again met with. We moved off at noon on the 31st, and our march continued during the whole night. In the morning we halted for about an hour and a half, when the march recommenced, and was continued throughout the day until sunset. We rested for about three hours, and then moved on, during a second night, until about ten o'clock the next morning, to a spot called Roblado, opposite a high precipitous

mountain, round the E. side of which the river turns in its course to the S. During this time we had no provisions or water. In some parts of the road there were shrubby trees, but generally the country was open and barren. After resting a few hours, we proceeded about 5 miles farther, to obtain pasture for the cattle. In this long march two men were killed: they were exhausted and unable to walk, and one of them, named Golphin, had lost the use of his right hand, and had been carried in a waggon for nearly two months.*

On November 3rd we continued our march over an irregular country lightly wooded, and stopped close to the river. Here another of our men died. Early upon the 4th we reached *the pass*. The road traversed the mountains in every direction for several miles. These mountains appeared to run from the N.E., to the river, and then to extend westerly. We crossed the Rio Grande del Norte near an embankment made to raise the level of the water above it: it was not deep, but the current was very swift, and the men waded through it as they had done on the two former occasions. Our road was along the side of the canal connected with the embankment, by means of which the country is irrigated. At the distance of about a mile from the crossing of the river we entered the town of Paso. It is a place of some size, with many good houses; the gardens are enclosed, and the vine is extensively cultivated. The inhabitants carry on a great trade in wine, raisins, and other dried fruits. At present there are few cattle or horses in the neighbourhood; formerly they were numerous, but the Apache Indians, who are at peace with the inhabitants of New Mexico, have long kept up a war with the people of Paso and of the south, and have swept away their stock.

At Paso we met with a kind and generous reception. The greater number of the men were broken down by lameness and fatigue; many were almost naked, and others were suffering from sickness. Immediately on their arrival everything in the power of the commandant, Colonel D. José Maria Elias, was done to relieve them, and assurances were given of their personal safety. In his honourable and humane treatment of the party he was actively aided by the good priest Raymon Orthez.

* It is but just to state the opinion of some Mexicans respecting these acts. The 'El Siglo,' XIX., published in Mexico, alluded to them thus:—"Captain D. Demasio Salazar had the iniquity to kill three persons in cold blood, because they had become wearied. It was reserved for Salazar to eclipse the triumph of Señor Armijo by this cruel and brutal action. Every one is indignant at such an atrocious act, peculiar only to savages. Don José Maria Elias, colonel of the army and commandant at Paso del Norte, is preferring charges against this barbarous captain; and Señor Conde, governor of the department (of Chihuahua), is mortified by an event which does so little honour to Mexicans."

We did not leave Paso until the 9th. We took with us numerous waggons for our infirm and sick, and were well supplied with provisions; we were also the escort of a lady and her family travelling to Chihuahua, as well as of traders in charge of a large number of pack-mules laden with barrels of Paso wines and crates of large onions.

S. of Paso is an extensive flat country, the Rio Grande running through it to the S.E. We carried with us casks of water for the next day, and stopped on the 10th in a barren district. On the 11th we came to a water-hole of not very good water, called Ojo Samaluka (Colonel Pike names it Ogo-mal-a-Ukap). Here we remained the whole of the 12th, to enable half the waggons to be carried on by double teams over the Arenales. On the 13th, the oxen having returned, we accompanied the remainder of the waggons. This remarkable district, called the Arenales, is about six miles across, and extended as far as we could see to our right and left. It is a series of high round or dome-shaped sand-hills of fine white sand. We halted in the evening at an opening between some hills, called the Puerta de la Piedra. There were two large mountains on each side of us, the one called Candelera, and the other Rancheria. On the 14th the Sierra de Carazal ran to the right, and in a barren country we stopped at a hole of bad water, called the Ojo de Lucero. About the middle of the Sierra de Carazal is a singular flat-topped mountain, the highest of the range, called the Banquete de Lucero. On the 15th we reached the Ojo Caliente, a spring of warm water flowing up through a bed of white sand. On the 16th we passed the Presidio de Carazal. In common with other places, it has suffered much from Indian depredations: formerly there were large herds of cattle in the neighbourhood. On the 17th we camped at a stream of water connected with a hot spring rising about a mile to the right of the road. On the 18th we again camped without water.

All this country from Paso appeared to be very barren; and, except at Carazal, there was no settlement on the road. We now came into a plain bounded on both sides with a long range of mountains. On the evening of the 19th we stopped at a fine spring of water flowing out of the granite mountains to our left. The water comes from a large cleft in the rock; and about its source some cotton-trees have grown to great size. Two miles farther on is a similar spring, called the Lesser Galliago, but we did not visit it.

On the 20th we continued along the plain to the edge of a lake, on the other side of which was the great Hacienda of Encinillas. On the 21st we came within about 6 miles of Chihuahua, and entered the city the next day. Throughout the whole settled country in the neighbourhood of this city, the

greatest fear of the Indians prevailed. All the great Haciendas had suffered from their attacks; and it is dangerous to leave the city but in the company of an armed party. We were told that in 1830 the Haciendas of San Miguel and Baricora, near the Presidio of Buenventura, had more than 12,000 head of cattle and 1000 horses on them, but that they were now desolated. Since these attacks commenced in 1832, it was calculated that upwards of 10,000 persons, of both sexes and of all ages, had perished. Farther to the S. we saw constant evidence of these aggressions, which had been made even into the state of Durango. The frontier, which in the time of the Spaniards had been defended by the *Presidios*, and which, though the protection which they afforded enabled settlements to be pushed forward into the Indian country, have been neglected, and the Mexicans are actually being driven back to the S. This state of things may not last; but it has been the consequence of an unsettled government, which has hitherto been compelled to concentrate its forces in the interior to sustain itself, while its frontier has been commanded by savages, and its public roads, even its most populous and central districts, have been governed by robbers.

The city of Chihuahua is of considerable extent, and is the capital of the department of this name; but the population is said to be rapidly diminishing. In the centre of a square is a large cathedral, covered with numerous carved figures of saints. A great establishment of the Jesuits remains unfinished. Part of it is used as an hospital, and I occupied one of its rooms, along with some of my party. It was in the square which it forms that Hidalgo, who raised the cry of independence in Mexico, was executed. To the W. of the town is an aqueduct of some extent.

The mining interest in the neighbourhood has suffered, in common with that of other parts of Mexico. We were shown many rich specimens of silver-ore, of mines said to be unworked for want of capital; but these evidences of their supposed value are very delusive.

The foreign trade of Chihuahua is chiefly dependent on the Missouri trade to Santa Fé, or rather Chihuahua is the chief mart of this trade: so that for the purposes of this trade the best and shortest route is from the United States to Chihuahua, through San Antonio de Bexar, for Chihuahua is to the S. of this town. The distance from St. Louis to Santa Fé is about 1200 miles, and from Santa Fé to Chihuahua about 400 miles.

The road taken by us to Zacatecas has been described by former travellers. There are two routes: the most direct is about 700 miles through Durango; and the longest and most indirect was taken by us. The places at which we successively stopped were:—El Ojito, Huachinba, the town of San Pablo, Saucillo

situated in a mining district, Cruces, the town of Santa Rosalia on the junction of the rivers Conchos and Florido, hacienda of Ramada, Saucillo, the hacienda and town of Huaquilla, La Comunidad near Atlotoloco, hacienda on the Rio Florido, La Nõria, town of Cerro Gordo, hacienda of La Sarca, Palo Chino, town of El Gallo, hacienda of Dolores on the river Nares near to Cinco Señores, the mining town of Noria Perdisiera, the town of Cuencamé, Atotonilco, hacienda of Juan Perez, hacienda of Estanthuela, San Sebastian, Santa Catalina, the town of Saenes, Rancho Grande, the town of Fresnillo, Calela, Zacatecas. From Zacatecas we took the road described in the Journal of Captain Lyons to San Louis Potosi, and hence to Guanajuato. The places from Guanajuato to Queretaro and Guatitlan are noticed in the Memoir of Chevalier Löwenstein, in the Journal of the Society for 1841. We were very well treated by the Mexican officers; and were permitted, on our parole, to wander where we pleased in nearly all of the towns we arrived at. Ordinary travellers, in the present state of the country, do not obtain greater liberty.

At Guatitlan we turned from the direct road to Mexico, through a cultivated district among the mountains, to San Cristobal de Ecutipic, which lies opposite to that part of the plain between the lakes Cristobal and Tezcuco, where we arrived the last day of January, 1842.

Here, a few hours after my arrival, I left my companions. They were afterwards divided: part were taken to Puebla, and the others to the castle of Perote. Those who had preceded us were confined in the convent of San Iago de Tlaltelolco, in the city of Mexico; and in consequence of some of the party having escaped, they were kept in chains for some months, and were then released. Before they left the country, above sixty of the men who had left Austin had either been killed or had died of disease.

Through the great and unexpected kindness of Mr. Pakenham, the British minister, I remained with him some weeks, and had ample opportunity to visit the country in the neighbourhood of the city of Mexico.

Our journey, from the commencement to its termination, was greatly favoured by the weather. A few nights of rain enabled us to traverse the great plains of the north; but from the time we left Austin we saw only seven days of rain, three of which were during our stay at Zacatecas. The rainy nights during this period, including the snow-storm at Fray Cristoval, were not more than eleven. The roads were consequently in a good state.

NOTE.

It is hardly possible to produce a stronger illustration of the importance of preserving and publishing the contemporary accounts of geographical discoveries than is afforded by the discussions upon the question of whether or not a title to the possession of Texas accrued to France by the discoveries of Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle. Had these documents been published, the controversy between Spain and the United States respecting the western limits of Louisiana would have been reduced within a narrow space.

The purchase of Louisiana by the United States from the French government was not completed when President Jefferson wrote, "We have some claims to extend to the seacoast westwardly to the Rio Norte or Bravo." (Correspondence, August 12, 1803, vol. iii. p. 519; see also vol. iv. p. 62, and Jefferson's Annual Messages from 1803 to 1806.) These claims, Mr. Bancroft states, arose from the discoveries of La Salle, which gave to France a title to territory to the W. bounded by the Rio Grande del Norte. (History of America, vol. iii. p. 174, 4th edition.) This he repeats several times, but most distinctly in these passages:—"On the side of Spain, at the W. and S., Louisiana was held to extend to the river Del Norte; and in the map published by the French Academy, the line passing from that river to the ridge that divides it from the Red River followed that ridge to the Rocky Mountains, and then descended to seek its termination in the Gulf of California. On the Gulf of Mexico it is certain that France claimed to the Del Norte" (vol. iii. p. 343). Again, he says:—"The French ever regarded the mouth of the Del Norte as the western limit of Louisiana on the Gulf of Mexico, and English geographers recognised the claim" (vol. iii. p. 353).

The value as an authority of the maps referred to is very easily disposed of. The one published by the French Academy is of the date 1782, or nearly twenty years after France had lost Louisiana, and therefore is of no authority, being unconnected with any official negotiations of the French government (Correspondence between Don L. de Onis and J. Q. Adams, Esq.; London, 1818, p. 90). The English map referred to, called "Pople's Map," cannot be treated as of the slightest importance. It is the practice at this time in England, France, and the United States to publish maps of Texas, drawing the boundaries of the new republic so as to include Santa Fé and nearly the whole of the department of New Mexico, which never formed a portion of the department of Texas, and whose inhabitants have never separated themselves from the Mexican government, nor by any act have expressed their wish to annex their territory to that of Texas. So little indeed, even in America, is the authority of map-makers, that the government of the United States last year, or in 1842, negotiated with that of Mexico, and not of Texas, respecting the escort and protection of the traders from St. Louis to Santa Fé, and actually intercepted a body of armed Texans who contemplated attacking the Mexican traders coming to the States from Santa Fé.

The historical facts connected with the claims alleged to have been formerly made by France are much more interesting.

The first notice which I have found of the expeditions of La Salle relative to the discovery of the Mississippi, is in a letter of M. Talon, one of the ablest of the Intendants of Canada under the French government. It is dated in October, 1671, and is addressed to the celebrated Colbert. He says:—"Le Sieur de la Salle n'est pas encor de retour de son excursion du côté de sud de ce pays" (MS.). This, I presume, is one of the five expeditions which La Salle himself stated to have been made by him. By letters patent, dated March 13, 1675, La Salle received the grant of Fort Frontenac (Kingston). In 1684 he presented a memoir to the French minister Seignelai, "Sur l'entreprise qu'il a proposée sur une des provinces du Mexique." This document, nor indeed any other written by La Salle, has not been published. He proposed as the object of the expedition—"Trouver un poste où les Français se puissent établir et fatiguer les Espagnols dans les lieux d'où ils tirent toutes leurs richesses;" and he expresses his expectation that his party "ne trouveront point de résistance dans la province qu'il a dessein d'attaquer, où il n'y a pas plus de 400 Espagnols naturels." In consequence of this application, a licence from Louis XIV. was issued to La Salle, dated St. Germaine-en-Laye, May 12, 1678, setting forth:—"Nous avons reçu agréablement la très humble supplication que nous a été faite en votre nom, de vous permettre de travailler à découvrir la partie occidentale de la Nouvelle France, et nous avons d'autant plus volontiers donné les mains à cette proposition qu'il n'y a rien que

nous ayons plus à cœur que la découverte de ce pays dans lequel il y a apparence que l'on trouvera un chemin pour pénétrer jusqu'au Mexique."

With this licence La Salle left France in 1678 to undertake the discovery of the Mississippi to the south. He was delayed on his route in the upper lakes of Canada, and was compelled to return to Montreal. His will is dated at this place, on August 11, 1681. At the end of January, 1682, he reached the Mississippi, and arrived at the sea on the 7th of April in the same year. Juan de Añasco had probably reached this spot before, but his adventures hardly disturb the title and honour due to La Salle as an original discoverer of the entrance of this mighty river into the Gulf of Mexico. There has been some difference of opinion respecting the year in which this discovery was made, but I have seen three letters of La Salle, one written at the fort St. Louis in Illinois, dated April 2, 1683; another written at the portage of Chicago, dated June 4, 1683; and a third dated June 7, 1683, of great length, and giving an account of the state of Indian affairs in the neighbourhood. One of these letters distinctly refers to his expedition in the previous year. These dates, in connection with the date of his will, independently of Tonty's authority, fix the year in which he reached the sea beyond all future controversy.

A narrative of this expedition was published at Paris in 1697 under the name of the Chevalier Henri de Tonty, who, Charlevoix says, was a person very able to have given an account of a colony in the establishment of which he had laboured more than any other person, but he had been assured that M. de Tonty had disavowed the publication, declaring that it did him no honour in any part of it (See preface of the *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, Prevost's, vol. xiv.). It is gratifying to be able, after the lapse of nearly one hundred and fifty years, to vindicate the veracity of Tonty. I am in possession of a copy of his original relation of this expedition. Comparing it with the publication bearing his name, it is evident that this MS. was employed, for it contains passages of the original, but the interpolations are very numerous, and the facts mentioned are altered and misplaced. The reader who may possess the published work will be able to judge of the extent of these changes by comparing the following extract from the MS. with that portion of the publication describing the arrival of the party at the sea:—"Nous continuâmes notre route, et après 40 lieues de navigation nous arrivâmes le 7 Avril à la mer. M. de La Salle dépêcha des canots pour visiter les chenaux, partie furent dans le chenal de la droite, partie dans celui de la gauche, et M. de La Salle choisit celui du milieu. Le soir chacun fit son rapport, savoir, que les chenaux étaient très beaux, larges, et profonds. On cabena à la terre de la droite où l'on arbora les armes du roi, et l'on retourna plusieurs fois visiter les chenaux. Le même rapport fut fait. Ce fleuve a près de 800 lieues sans rapides; 400 depuis les Scioux et 400 depuis l'embouchure de la rivière Illinois jusqu'à la mer. Les bords en sont presque inhabitables à cause des inondations du printemps."

It is remarkable, however, that the errors of the dates in the publication, which have been commented on at different times, are to be found in the MS. of Tonty. They are to be explained by the concluding passage of the MS. which is in these words:—"La perte que j'ai faite de mes mémoires dans mes voyages fait que cette relation n'est pas accomplie comme je le souhaiterais." In a *placet*, countersigned by the Count de Frontenac, Governor of Canada, he sets forth his services, and mentions that when in France he had solicited employment, but being unable to obtain it upon account of the peace, he was induced "prendre partie en 1678 de suivre feu M. de la Salle pour l'accompagner dans les découvertes du Mexique, où il a été le seul officier qui ne l'a pas abandonné jusqu'en 1682 qu'elles furent finies." In this document, he correctly notices the year of his voyage down the Mississippi, which in his MS. relation of it is certainly erroneously stated to have been in 1683.

La Salle left Canada for France in 1683. On his arrival in Europe he presented a memoir to Seignelai, and proposed an expedition to the Mississippi by sea. He says that he thought that he had sufficiently established the fact of his discoveries—"Par l'acte, signé de tous ses gens, qui fut mis l'an passé entre les mains de Mgr. Colbert par M. le Comte de Frontenac, comme aussi par le rapport qu'en a fait le Révd. P. Zenoble, missionnaire, qui l'a accompagné dans ce voyage et qui présentement est gardien de Bapaume; par le témoignage de trois de ceux qui l'ont accompagné qu'il a amené en France, et qui sont maintenant à Paris; par le témoignage de plusieurs autres personnes venues cette année de Canada qui ont vu le nommé Vital, envoyé par M. de la Barre pour en apprendre des nouvelles sur les lieux, et qui a confirmé de la découverte. Toutes ces preuves suffiront pour détruire ce que pourraient avoir écrit au contraire des

personnes prévenues qui n'ont aucune connaissance non plus des pays où elle s'est faite puisqu'ils n'y ont jamais été. Mais il espère détruire toutes ces préventions en exécutant le dessein qu'il a, sous le bon plaisir de Monseigneur, de retourner au pays de sa découverte par l'embouchure de la rivière dans le Golf de Mexique."

In this same memoir La Salle describes the extent of the country which he considered to be included within the limits of his discovery :—" Au lieu que les autres colonies sont ouvertes et exposées aux descentes des étrangers par autant d'endroits qu'elles ont des côtes baignées de la mer, et qu'elles ont besoin par conséquent de beaucoup de monde pour en garder les avenues, un seul établissement fait vers le bas de la rivière suffit pour conserver un terrain qui a plus de 800 lieues du nord au sud, et bien davantage du levant au couchant, parceque les rivages n'en sont accessibles du côté de la mer, que par l'embouchure du fleuve, le reste de la côte étant impénétrable à plus de 20 lieues en profondeur à cause des bois, marais, cannes, et des terres tremblantes où si il est impossible de marcher, et c'est peut-être ce qui a fait négliger la découverte de cette rivière aux Espagnols s'ils en ont eu la connaissance. Ce pays n'est pas moins bien défendu dans la profondeur des terres contre les irruptions des Européens qui en sont voisins à l'est; à l'ouest par des grandes chaînes de montagnes dont les branches de cette rivière tirent leur origine. Il est vrai qu'il est plus ouvert au sud-ouest où il confine avec le Mexique, d'où la rivière nommé le Seignelai, qui est une des branches du fleuve Colbert (Mississippi), très navigable, n'est séparée que par une forêt de trois à quatre journées de traverser. Mais outre que les Espagnols sont faibles et éloignés du secours de Mexico, et de celui qu'ils pourraient attendre par mer, cet endroit est à couvert de leur insulte par le grand nombre de sauvages belligieux qui leur ferment ce passage, qui ont avec eux des cruelles guerres, et qui leur feront bien plus de mal quand ils se verront soutenus par des Français, &c."

As dependent on the occupation of the river Mississippi, and at the same time respecting the rights of Spain, this general description of the extent of the country named Louisiana by La Salle himself, could not have been made more complete during the period that France had that occupation.

The expedition proposed in this second memoir of La Salle sailed from Rochelle, July 24, 1684. (Joutel's *Journal Historique*, p. 13; Paris, 1713.) The naval officers did not act cordially with La Salle, and the entrance of the river into the gulf could not be found. The vessels were carried to the coast of Texas, and the point at which a landing is supposed to have been effected was in Matagorda Bay. Upon the departure of the naval officer, M. de Beaujeu, on the 14th of March, 1685, a fort was built to protect the party from the savages, who had already killed some of their number. Another fort was subsequently built, to which the party removed. In October La Salle left with some companions in order to seek the Mississippi, and did not return to the fort until March, 1686. In April he again left for this purpose, and returned to the fort in August, without having succeeded. These expeditions were to the east. He made another attempt in January, 1687, dividing his party as before, and leaving M. Barbier in command of the fort. In this journey he was shot, on the 20th of March, 1687, by one of his companions. Some of his party, among the number Joutel, the writer of the narrative, found their way to Canada (Joutel, *Journal Historique*).

The fate of the men left by La Salle at the fort is a very important fact, and is neglected by American writers. It appears that the Spaniards were alarmed at the expedition, and took immediate steps to check it. ("Les Espagnols du Nouveau Mexique, que l'entreprise de La Salle avait alarmés, s'étaient déjà donné du mouvement pour la traverser." *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, vol. xiv. p. 623; Paris, 1757—also, Joutel, p. 365.) The Spaniards fell in with some of the French, whom they made prisoners, and the settlement—if, from the temporary object for which it was made, it can be so called—was broken up.

Upon this expedition of La Salle, and not upon the settlement of the Mississippi by the French, the alleged title of France to Texas rested (Correspondence of Don L. Onís and Mr. Adams, *passim*). Yet it is clear that Spain did not allow the occupation of the country to be made. Moreover, how could the landing E. or on the banks of the Colorado give a title to the territory to the Rio Grande? The inference from the fact that the Spaniards had previously discovered the Rio Grande, and were therefore entitled to the territory between it and the Mississippi, is equally complete. But in 1693 the Presidio of Bexar was built, and in 1716 that of Goliad, or del Espíritu Santo (Congressional Papers, 25th Congress, No. 40, p. 3), thus securing to Spain an undisputed right both by discovery and occupation to all the country W. of the Guadalupe. The

Spanish title east was made complete by the destruction of La Salle's fort, the establishment of the post on the Adeas, existing in 1718, and by the establishment of the town of Nacogdoches in 1732. A French title to the territory to the Rio Grande never existed—nor is there a single fact to sustain it—setting aside any notice of the aggression intended by the settlement on the Mississippi, and the admissions respecting the Spaniards made by La Salle himself. From a letter of La Harpe, in 1719, and an order of Bienville, the governor of New Orleans, in 1721, it appears to have been thought that the landing of La Salle in Matagorda Bay gave to France a title to some portion of Texas (Correspondence between Onis and Adams, p. 128); but the French government did not sustain this opinion, and Spain continued in the undisturbed occupation of it for upwards of a century after La Salle's death and until the establishment of the independence of Mexico.

In 1802, France, which had ceded Louisiana to Spain in 1763, recovered possession of the country, and the next year it was agreed to be sold by Buonaparte, then First Consul, for eleven millions of dollars to the United States. When the purchase was proposed, Mr. Jefferson certainly expected part of the boundary of Louisiana to be "the high lands on the western side of the Mississippi, inclosing all its waters—the Missouri of course—and terminating in a line drawn from the north-western point of the Lake of the Woods to the nearest source of the Mississippi as lately settled between Great Britain and the United States" (Jefferson's Correspondence; Aug. 12, 1803, vol. iii. p. 519). The purchase in its terms included "All lands on the east side of the Mississippi river, not then belonging to the United States, as far as the great chain of mountains which divide the waters running into the Pacific and those falling into the Atlantic Ocean, and from the said chain of mountains to the Pacific Ocean between the territory of Great Britain on the one side and of Spain on the other" (History of the Federal Government; Boston, 1840, p. 130). This extension of the limits of Louisiana over the mountains, was, after much resistance, allowed by Spain, in consequence of the use of very inaccurate and unauthentic documents and maps, in the treaty made between it and the United States in 1819, which fixed the Sabine River as part of the western boundary of the United States, and declared the extreme limit of the N. of Mexico to be a line running N. from the source of the Arkansas to the 42nd parallel, and thence to the Pacific. (See Congressional Papers, 27th Congress, 1842, containing the Survey of the River Sabine, &c.) The effect of thus extending this line to the Oregon territory is well known.

The MS. to which I have alluded, and from which my citations are made, I propose to print at a future day. T. F.

II.—*Notes on the Coast Region of the Texan Territory: taken during a Visit in 1842.* By WM. BOLLAERT.*

General Remarks.—Three great natural divisions are generally recognised in the geographical formation of Texas—the level, undulating, and mountainous. To this is sometimes added "the

* Mr. Bollaert's paper was accompanied by the following charts and sketches from surveys by American (U. S.) officers, which are preserved in the Society's archives, but which it was deemed unnecessary to have engraved, as Mr. Arrowsmith's map of Texas, published in April, 1841, will enable every reader to follow Mr. Bollaert in his excursions:—

1. Sketch of the Line of Coast on the Gulf of Mexico, from the mouth of the Rio Grande del Norte le Balire, on the S.E. pass of the Mississippi, laid down according to the observations of Commodore Moore and Captain Baylen.

2. Sketch Plan of Galveston Island.

3. Chart of the Harbour of St. Luis, surveyed by Captain Hinton.

4. Chart of the mouth of the Sabine, by Major Grahame, Captain Pellam, and Lieutenant Lee.